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THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY AND THE POPE.

BY JOHN BIGELOW.

IN THE summer of 1863 it was decided by the Confederate statesmen at Richmond that they could not afford to depend entirely upon the arm of flesh for the success of their cause, and thereupon they determined to appeal to the sword of the Spirit as wielded by the church of Rome. The considerations which may be presumed to have prompted this appeal were

First, The numerical strength of the Catholics in the Northern States who would be likely to relax their zeal in the prosecution of the war if the Pope discountenanced it and,

Second, A desire to enlist the active sympathies of the Catholic countries of Europe, and especially of France and Austria, then already embarked in the ill-fated scheme to reëstablish monarchical and prelatical supremacy in Mexico.

Perhaps, too, they were encouraged to hope that a sympathetic word or two from Pius. IX. would help to weaken the faltering loyalty of Maryland and Missouri, the two Southern States in which members of the Catholic communion exert much influence upon public opinion. Upon the evangelical principle of gathering up the fragments that nothing be lost, it was accordingly decided at once to lay siege to the Vatican. Dudley Mann, who became a superfluity in London on the arrival of Commissioner Mason at his post, was authorized by Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, to repair to Rome and open the trenches with the secular arm, to be speedily followed and reënforced by such spiritual enginery as could be found available and brought up in season.

At the same time that Mann was sent to Rome, Father Bannon, of Richmond, was sent with instructions from Benjamin "to enlighten the people of Ireland in regard to the true character of

the war, etc." He was clothed with authority to go also to Rome "for the purpose," said the Secretary, "of obtaining such sanction from the Sovereign Pontiff as will strengthen your hands and give efficiency to your action." Father Bannon was to receive £20 a month for his personal expenses and fare to and fro. The fiscal agent of the Confederacy in London was instructed to provide for his other expenses, such as printing, extra travel and a suitable remuneration for an associate from the North, "if,"—so ran his instructions,—“you can find one entirely trustworthy and you find it advisable to secure his aid.” This also was to be a Catholic priest. What Father Bannon accomplished, if anything, by his mission, beyond getting out of Richmond, which had already become anything but a cheerful residence, and having his expenses paid during his absence, the records of the Confederacy have left no trace. We can imagine from what occurred of public notoriety that his labors were not rewarded with any such measure of success as to deserve more attention from the historian than they seem to have received from the Secretary of State, and that could hardly have been less.

A few months after Father Bannon embarked on his mission, as if the Richmond government was already aware that he was not accomplishing nor likely to accomplish much, either with St. Patrick or with St. Peter, Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, was sent out, armed with a letter of introduction from Benjamin to Slidell, the Confederate Commissioner in Paris, and with something more than a strictly apostolic equipment, to labor exclusively with the Pope. In his letter of introduction Benjamin did not explain the purpose of this mission, but said simply that Lynch “is proceeding to Europe on a visit which he will fully explain to you.” He doubtless thought, as Mason did in regard to his troubled dinner-table interview with the Earl of Donoughmore, that what was afoot “had better not be spread upon the records of the State department.”

Of his mission we shall have more to say presently. We now return to Mr. Dudley Mann and his ecclesiastical mission. Happily he has acted as his own historian. His preliminary successes were recorded in the following epistle to Benjamin :

Dudley Mann to Judah Benjamin:

ROME, November 14, 1863.

SIR: At three o'clock of the afternoon of yesterday I received a formal notification that His Holiness would favor me with an audience, embracing

my private secretary, Mr. W. Grayson Mann, to-day at twelve o'clock. I accordingly proceeded to the Vatican, sufficiently early to enable me to reach there fifteen minutes in advance of the designated hour. In five minutes afterwards—ten minutes prior to the appointed time—a message came from the Sovereign Pontiff that he was ready to receive me, and I was accordingly conducted into his presence.

His Holiness stated, after I had taken my stand near to his side, that he had been so afflicted by the horrors of the war in America that many months ago he had written to the Archbishops at New Orleans and New York to use all the influence that they could properly employ for terminating, with as little delay as possible, the deplorable state of hostilities; that from the former he had received no answer, but that he had heard from the latter, and his communication was not such as to inspire hope that his ardent wishes would be speedily gratified.

I then remarked, that "it is to a sense of profound gratitude of the Executive of the Confederate States and of my countrymen, for the earnest manifestation which Your Holiness made in the appeal referred to, that I am indebted for the distinguished honor which I now enjoy. President Davis has appointed me special envoy to convey in person to your Holiness this letter, which I trust you will receive in a similar spirit to that which animated its author."

Looking for a moment at the address and afterwards at the seal of the letter, His Holiness took his scissors and cut the envelope. Upon opening it he observed: "I see it is in English, a language which I do not understand." I remarked: "If it will be agreeable to Your Holiness my secretary will translate its contents to you." He replied: "I shall be pleased if he will do so." The translation was rendered in a slow, solemn and emphatic pronunciation. During its progress, I did not cease for an instant to carefully survey the features of the Sovereign Pontiff. A sweeter expression of pious affection, of tender benignity, never adorned the face of mortal man. No picture can adequately represent him when exclusively absorbed in Christian contemplation. Every sentence of the letter appeared to sensibly affect him. At the conclusion of each he would lay his hand down upon the desk and bow his head approvingly. When the passage was reached, wherein the President states, in such sublime and affecting language: "We have offered up at the footstool of our Father who art in Heaven prayers inspired by the same feeling which animates your Holiness" his deep sunken orbs, visibly moistened, were upturned towards that throne upon which ever sits the Prince of Peace, indicating that his heart was pleading for our deliverance from that causeless and merciless war which is prosecuted against us. The soul of infidelity, if indeed infidelity have a soul, would have melted in view of so sacred a spectacle.

The emotion occasioned by the translation was succeeded by a silence of some time. At length His Holiness asked whether President Davis was a Catholic. I answered in the negative. He then asked if I was one. I assured him that I was not. His Holiness now stated, to use his own language, that "Lincoln and Co." had endeavored to create an impression abroad that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery and that it might be judicious in us to consent to gradual emancipation. I replied that the subject of slavery was one over which the Government of the Confederate States, like that of the old United States, had no control whatever; that all ameliorations with regard to the institution must proceed from the

States themselves, which were as sovereign in their character, in this regard, as was France, Austria, or any other Continental power; that true philanthropy shuddered at the thought of a liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by "Lincoln and Co."; that such a procedure would be practically to convert the well-cared-for civilized negro into a semi-barbarian; that such of our slaves as had been captured or decoyed off by our enemy were in an incomparably worse condition than while they were in the service of their masters; that they wished to return to their old homes, the love of which was the strongest of their affections; that if, indeed, African slavery were an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its sudden overthrow. His Holiness received these remarks with an approving expression. He then said that I had reason to be proud of the self-sacrificing devotion of my countrymen, from the beginning, to the cause for which they are contending. "The most ample reason," I replied; "and yet, scarcely so much as of my countrywomen, whose patriotism, whose sorrows and privations, whose transformation in many instances from luxury to penury, were unparalleled and could not be adequately described by any living language. There they had been from the beginning—there they were still, more resolute if possible than ever—emulating in devotion, earthly though it was in its character, those holy female spirits who were the last at the Cross, and the first at the Sepulchre.

His Holiness received this statement with evident satisfaction and then said: "I would like to do anything that can be effectively done, or that even promises good results, to aid in putting an end to this most terrible war, which is harming the good of all the earth; if I knew how to proceed."

I availed myself of this declaration to inform His Holiness that it was not the armies of Northern birth which the South was encountering in hostile array, but that it was the armies of European creation, occasioned by the Irish and Germans, chiefly the former, who were influenced to emigrate (by circulars from "Lincoln & Co." to their numerous agents abroad) ostensibly for the purpose of securing higher wages, but in reality to fill up the constantly depleted ranks of our enemy; that these poor unfortunates were tempted by high bounties, amounting to five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred dollars, to enlist and take up arms against us; that, once in the service, they were invariably placed in the most exposed points of danger in the battlefield; that, in consequence thereof, an instance had occurred in which an almost entire brigade had been left dead or wounded upon the ground; that, but for foreign recruits, the North would most likely have broken down months ago in the absurd attempt to overpower the South.

His Holiness expressed his utter astonishment repeatedly, throwing up his hands, at the employment of such means against us and the cruelty attendant upon such unscrupulous operations.

"But your Holiness," said I, "Lincoln & Co. are even more wicked, if possible, in their ways, than in decoying innocent Irishmen from their homes to be murdered in cold blood. Their champions, and would your Holiness believe it, unless it were authoritatively communicated to you?—their pulpit champions have boldly asserted this as a sentiment: 'Greek fire for the families and cities of the rebels, and Hell-fire for their chiefs.'"

His Holiness was startled at this information, and immediately observed: "Certainly no Catholic would reiterate so monstrous a sentiment."

I replied, "Assuredly not. It finds a place exclusively in the hearts of the fiendish, vagrant pulpit buffoons whose number is legion, and who impudently undertake to teach the doctrine of Christ, for ulterior sinister purposes."

His Holiness now observed: "I will write a letter to President Davis, and of such a character that it may be published for general perusal." I expressed my heartfelt gratification for the assertion of this purpose. He then remarked, half inquiringly: "You will remain here several months"? I, of course, could not do otherwise than answer in the affirmative. Turning to my secretary he asked several kind questions personal to himself, and bestowed upon him a handsome compliment. He then extended his hand, as a signal for the end of the audience, and I retired.

Thus terminated one of the most remarkable conferences that ever a foreign representative had with a potentate of the earth. And such a potentate! A potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race, and who is adored by that immense number as the Vice-regent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere.

How strikingly majestic was the conduct of the Government of the Pontifical States in its bearings towards me when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which some of the governments of western Europe have had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our commissioners. Here I was openly received at the Department of Foreign Affairs, openly received by an appointment at Court, in accordance with established usages and customs, and treated from beginning to end with a consideration which might be envied by the envoy of the oldest member of the family of nations. The audience was of forty minutes' duration—an unusually long one.

I have written this despatch very hurriedly, and fear that it will barely be on time for the monthly steamer which goes off from Liverpool with the mail for the Bahama Islands next Saturday.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, C. S. A.

As the Pope did not speak nor even read English there is no occasion to be surprised at the greater fulness with which Mr. Mann's remarks are reported than those of his interlocutor. In fact the missionary's confidence in the complete conversion of the Pope to his views seems to have been inspired not by anything the Sovereign Pontiff said, for he said nothing to the purpose, but to have been extracted from his features "which no picture can adequately represent," while listening to the translation of Davis's letter.

But the stage of this interview at which Mann's gifts as a diplomatist stand out in boldest relief is when asked if he or Jefferson Davis was a Catholic. At that question almost any one less earnest and single-eyed in the prosecution of his work would have seen that the string of his kite had broken; that, as Uncle Remus would say, "he had dropped his molasses jug." Justice to Mr,

Mann compels us to admit that he did nothing of the kind; on the contrary he was prepared to say in the language of King David, replying to the anti-terpsichorean reproaches of his Philistine wife: "I will be yet more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight."

This curious interview occurred on the 13th of November. On the 8th of December following Mr. Mann received an official reply to the fateful letter of which he had been the bearer, that overcame him scarcely less than the personal presence and appearance of the Pope. He evidently thought it would not only end the war, but make him its hero—the Washington or rather the Franklin of the new republic. Because the Pope addressed Davis by the title which he found subscribed to that functionary's letter, Mann leaped somewhat precipitately to the conclusion that the Confederate government had been acknowledged "by as high an authority as the world contains."

In order that his left hand should not be in ignorance of what his right hand had been about he proffers the Confederate Secretary of State his advice to have his correspondence, including the Pope's letter, published officially in Richmond, but meantime proposes on his own responsibility to put the obligations of the Confederacy to him in this business out at interest as soon as possible by having the documents published without delay in the *London Times*. This purpose, together with the triumphant results of his mission, he thus announced to his chief in Richmond.

Mann to Benjamin :

ROME, December 9, 1863.

SIR : The Cardinal Secretary of State Antonelli officially transmitted to me yesterday the answer of the Pope to the President.

In the very direction of this communication there is a positive recognition of our government. It is addressed "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America." Thus we are acknowledged by as high an authority as this world contains to be an independent power of the earth. I congratulate you, I congratulate the President, I congratulate his cabinet, in short, I congratulate all my true hearted countrymen and countrywomen upon this benign event. The hand of the Lord has been in it, and eternal glory and praise be to His holy and righteous name.

The document is in the Latin language, as are all documents prepared by the Pope. I cannot incur the risk of its capture at sea, and therefore I shall retain it until I can convey it, with entire certainty, to the President. It will adorn the archives of our country in all coming time. I expect to receive a copy of it in time for transmission by the steamer which carries

this (*via* New York) to Nassau. I shall leave here by the 15th inst., and will proceed to Paris and from thence to Brussels and London.

The example of the Sovereign Pontiff, if I am not much mistaken, will exercise a salutary influence upon both the Catholic and Protestant governments of western Europe. Humanity will be aroused everywhere to the importance of its early emulation.

I have studiously endeavored to prevent the appearance of any telegraphic or other communications in the newspapers in relation to my mission. The nature of it, however, is generally known in official circles here and it has been mentioned in one or more journals. The letters, in my opinion, ought to be officially published at Richmond, under a call for the correspondence by the one or the other branch of Congress. In the meantime I shall communicate to the European press, probably through the London *Times*, the substance of those letters. I regard such a procedure as of primary importance in view of the interests of peace, and I am quite sure that the Holy Father would rejoice at seeing those interests benefited in this or any other effective manner.

I have the honor to be, etc.

We learn from the following, which accompanied the Pope's letter "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis," that the Christmas holidays were fixed upon as "the most propitious season for enlightening the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope," and for reasons which are in the highest degree edifying.

Mann to Benjamin :

ROME, December 12, 1863.

SIR : Herewith I have the honor to transmit the copy sent to me yesterday of the original, in Latin, of the letter of the Sovereign Pontiff to President Davis. I have taken a duplicate of it. A period of more than a week elapsed between the date of the letter and the delivery of the copy.

I shall repair to Paris immediately, where, after conferring with Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason (from each of whom I have just received the kindest of letters), I shall proceed to Brussels. After a stay there of a day or two I shall go to London. The Christmas season will be a propitious period for exciting the sympathies of the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope. The people of England are never better at heart than during the joyous anniversary of the birth of Him whose cause was "Peace on earth, good will towards men."

Strange to say, a recent number of the *Court Journal* of London contains one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of character of His Holiness.

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Why it was so strange that "one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of character of His Holiness" should have appeared in the *Court Journal*, there is probably no one now living who can explain.

After reading these enthusiastic accounts of the Pope's letter and the revolutions of public sentiment it was destined to work in Europe as well as in the United States it is interesting to read the letter itself to see how much more Mr. Mann's penetrating glance and lively imagination found in it than it disclosed to his official chief when it reached him.

Pius P. P. IX. Illustrious and Honorable Mr. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, Greeting :

We have lately received with all kindness, as was meet, the gentlemen sent by your Excellency to present to us your letter dated on the 23d of last September. We have received certainly no small pleasure in learning both from these gentlemen and from your letter the feelings of gratification and very warm appreciation with which you, Illustrious and Honorable Sir, were moved when you first had knowledge of our letters written in October of the preceding year to the Venerable Brethren, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans, in which we again and again urged and exhorted those Venerable Brethren that because of their exemplary piety and episcopal zeal they should employ the most earnest efforts, in our name also, in order that the fatal civil war which had arisen in the States should end, and that the people of America might again enjoy mutual peace and concord, and love each other with mutual charity. And it has been very gratifying to us to recognize, Illustrious Sir, that you and your people are animated by the same desire for peace and tranquillity, which we had so earnestly inculcated in our aforesaid letter to the venerable Brethren above named. Oh, that the other people also of the States and their rulers, considering seriously how cruel and how deplorable is this intestine war, would receive and embrace the counsels of peace and tranquillity! We indeed shall not cease with most fervent prayers to beseech God, the Best and Highest, and to implore Him to pour out the spirit of Christian love and peace upon all the people of America, and to rescue them from the great calamities with which they are afflicted. And we also pray the same most Merciful Lord that he will illumine your Excellency with the light of His divine grace, and unite you with ourselves in perfect charity.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the 3d December, 1863, in the eighteenth year of our Pontificate. PIUS P. P. IX.

By the time the Pope's letter had crossed the Atlantic it ceased to have the intoxicating effect which it had when first placed in Mr. Mann's hand and in the disguise of a learned language. Messrs. Davis and Benjamin had not encountered the paralyzing gaze "of a potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race"—exclusive of Davis and Mann—"and who is adored by that immense number as the Vice-Regent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere."

Though he had never been in Rome, Benjamin knew the difference between a formula of politeness and an international engage-

ment. In due course of mail Mr. Mann received from the Richmond Secretary of State the following commentary upon the pontifical rescript :

Benjamin to Mann :

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
RICHMOND, 1st February, 1864. }

Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc., etc., etc., Brussels :

SIR : The President has been much gratified at learning the cordial reception which you received from the Pope, and the publication of the correspondence here (of which I send you a newspaper slip) has had a good effect. Its best influences, as we hope, will be felt elsewhere in producing a check on the foreign enlistments made by the United States. As a recognition of the Confederate States, we cannot attach to it the same value that you do, a mere inferential recognition unconnected with political action or the regular establishment of diplomatic relations possessing none of the moral weight required for awakening the people of the United States from their delusion that these States still remain members of the old Union. Nothing will end this war but the utter exhaustion of the belligerents, unless, by the action of some of the leading powers of Europe in entering into formal relations with us, the United States are made to perceive that we are in the eyes of the world a separate nation, and that the war now waged by them is *foreign*, not an *intestine* or *civil* war, as it is termed by the Pope. This phrase of his letter shows that his address to the President as "President of the Confederate States" is a formula of politeness to his correspondent, not a political recognition of the fact. None of our political journals treat the letter as a recognition in the sense you attach to it, and Mr. Slidell writes that the Nuncio at Paris, on whom he called, had received no instructions to put his official *visa* on our passports, as he had been led to hope from his correspondence with you. This, however, may have been merely a delay in the sending of the instructions. . . .

I am, very respectfully, etc.

Upon the receipt of this letter Mr. Mann disappeared from the Confederate stage, the Pope remaining unconverted and impenitent. Not wholly discouraged however by the colorless tone of his letter, Davis and Benjamin seem to have received impressions from some quarter which warranted them in making another effort to enlist the sympathies of the Roman Curia in favor of the Confederate government; for early in the spring of 1864, they decided to send another missionary to the Vatican. This time they thought to make their emissary more acceptable by selecting him from the hierarchy. They found the man for their purpose, as they supposed, in Bishop Lynch, of Charleston. The most interesting particulars that are preserved of this mission are set forth by the Bishop himself in a letter to Benjamin written just before he embarked.

Bishop Lynch to Benjamin :

CHARLESTON, S. C., 25th March, 1864.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State :

SIR : Since my return to Charleston I have devoted my time to the task of such arrangements as are required by my approaching departure, a task which the recent acts of Congress on the currency and taxes have rendered onerous and puzzling. Still I anticipate that I will be in Richmond on the day indicated by you, April 5, perhaps on the 4th. General Wise has written to me on the subject of Mr. W. C. Chapman going out as secretary, and the young gentleman has called on me on the same. I explained my own purposes ; I intended, unless otherwise instructed, to procure a secretary in Europe, a person of standing, and who could write Italian and French well.

Mr. Chapman explains that what he desires is the secretaryship during the trip to Rome, leaving me as free to choose another secretary there as if this appointment were not made. In this view his appointment would be perfectly agreeable to me, and I stated so much to General Wise, and left it to him and Mr. Chapman to arrange the matter with you.

The suite of a Bishop travelling consists properly of two persons, a chaplain and a servant. I have chosen the first, a Rev. Mr. Renouf, a French clergyman, who will accompany me. I have not selected a body servant, and may not do so. But I presume there will be no difficulty in allowing both a passage in the same vessel I go on to Bermuda.

I have also written to Hon. S. R. Mallory, asking the privilege of taking out five bales of cotton, in the same vessel, with a view of covering some personal expenses, or to meet any emergency that may arise.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

P. N. LYNCH, D. D., B. C.

The Bishop's mission, as we all know, did not prove a success. Unhappily, the record of his experiences, which could hardly fail to possess a peculiar interest, to the political student at least, can not be found. His letters to Benjamin, with the exception of the one already cited, if he wrote any, appear to have been abstracted from the Confederate archives, whether before or since they came into the possession of our government we cannot say. We trust they have not been destroyed and that the time may come when it will be no one's interest to withhold them from the public eye.

In the autumn of 1865 and several months after peace was restored in the United States our Minister in Paris received the following letter from Mr. A. Cochin, a member of the Institute and a more or less conspicuous member of an anti-slavery society organized about that time in Paris under the auspices of Messrs. Laboulaye, Guizot, the Duc de Broglie and others. He was also author of a book against slavery which had procured for him an election to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

Cochin to the American Minister :

(Translation.)

AZY, Nievre, September 2, 1865.

M. LE MINISTRE: I am in receipt of a letter from Doctor Lynch, Catholic bishop of Charleston, who is detained at Rome unable to return to his diocese in consequence of his exclusion by the amnesty proclamation of President Johnson.

I do not know precisely the cause of his exclusion. I believe Monsignor Lynch consented to come to solicit the intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff in favor of peace, and that this mission with which he was charged by the rebel States has been esteemed a blamable act. In any case, now that the war is ended, and that it has become desirable to reconcile the disaffected, to relieve the destitute and protect the enfranchised, the return of the bishop of Charleston to that city, so justly but so severely punished, appears to be desirable. Should Irish emigrants be invited thither to reorganize labor, collisions may occur between them and the blacks which would render the presence of this prelate particularly useful.

The letter of Monsignor Lynch proves that he would consecrate himself with an exclusive devotion to these social duties. He is a loyal, intelligent, charitable man, worthy of respect and confidence.

He prays me to address you in his behalf, and I do so in the name of my friend the Count de Montalembert as well as in my own, well persuaded that you will kindly transmit to your government, with your favorable recommendation, the request for amnesty and permission to return which we make on behalf of the Catholic Bishop of Charleston.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my respectful and devoted sentiments.

(Signed) A. COCHIN.

To this letter the American Minister sent the following reply :

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, PARIS, September 5, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. COCHIN: I have your note of the 2d inst. interceding for the pardon of Bishop Lynch, now or late agent near the court of Rome of persons in rebellion against the United States. His case comes under the first and seventh categories of exceptions from the President's amnesty. He was a foreign agent of the pretended Confederate government and he was an absentee from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. The proper course for him to pursue will be to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the President in his proclamation of 29th May, 1865, before the most convenient minister or consul, and then to address a personal application, to the President setting forth his claims to a pardon.

If he prefers it I will transmit his petition, though it would go more regularly through the legation at Rome, where, I infer from your letter, the bishop is sojourning. In any event, if thought desirable, on receiving copies of the bishop's petition and evidence that he has taken the oath prescribed, I will give him the benefit of your interest in his case near the President.

However, I may as well assure you now that nothing will go so far towards propitiating the pardoning power, in my opinion, as evidence that the Bishop is himself conscious of and sincerely regrets having betrayed his country and degraded his church by prostituting his sacred functions to the service of a foul and unnatural conspiracy against his country and government.

Permit me also to suggest that, in setting forth his claims to the clemency of the President, Bishop Lynch will do well not to give prominence to the importance of his presence in America to prevent collisions between the Irish immigrants and the blacks. I cannot refrain from saying to you, my dear Mr. Cochin, that it is precisely such prelates as Bishop Lynch, partisans at once of slavery and treason, that have planted in the breasts of many of our Irish adopted citizens prejudices against the blacks, which have proved one of our most serious obstacles to the suppression of the late rebellion, and which, on quite a recent occasion, resulted in a massacre which deluged the streets of our commercial metropolis with African blood.

While the President may be persuaded to consent to Bishop Lynch's return to Charleston upon proper evidence of his contrition, I beg you will not remain under the impression that the Bishop's influence over any class of our population is in the least degree necessary to our people or government. Happily, Bishop Lynch's place in the Church can be readily supplied by men whose influence with their flock has never been weakened by treason, or by the denial to a part of the human race of the right which the great Head of the Church died to secure to all.

Receive, my dear sir, the assurance of my sentiments of respect and devotion, etc., etc.

In just five weeks after the Minister's letter to Mr. Cochin was posted, the Bishop appeared at the Legation in Paris and took the oath of loyalty required by the terms of President Johnson's proclamation of May 29, 1865. Why he did not take this oath at Rome before Mr. Marsh has not transpired. In due course of mail Mr. Seward informed the Minister in Paris that Bishop Lynch's pardon had been granted. "Some explanation," he said, "might not be improper, but the case is not of sufficient importance to make a record." The Bishop returned to Charleston a much wiser man than when he left and for the remainder of his life, I believe—he died in 1882—wisely confined himself pretty strictly to the duties of his episcopate.

Nothing more was ever heard of Confederate diplomacy at Rome or from Rome.

A perusal of the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederate government of which we have here given fairly characteristic specimens demonstrates two very important facts about which without it there might be room for an honest difference of opinion :

First, While it might have been difficult to organize an army of better soldiers or more competent officers in the whole United States than those who fought under the flag of the Confederacy, the men who planned the rebellion, controlled its policy,

and directed its operations from Richmond, were about the most inadequate men that ever had their names prominently associated in history with the conduct of any great military enterprise in which it was necessary to enlist the sympathies of other enlightened nationalities. The admirable military qualities displayed by the Confederate army is a source not merely of sectional but of national pride ; and they have rendered an enduring service to our country, of which, happily, the incompetence of those who controlled and directed its extraordinary energies can never deprive us.

Secondly, The best judgment, talent and virtue of the South were not responsible for the rebellion, were never fairly represented in its prosecution, and but for the ascendancy which a group of desperate demagogues had acquired in the politics of the South by causing it to be believed that they only could be trusted to protect the people from the confiscation of their slave property, the South would never have permitted its solicitude about slavery to ripen into rebellion. But for the four men whose names figure most conspicuously in the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederacy, Davis, Benjamin, Slidell and Mason, it is not rash to say that the late Civil War would never have stained the annals of our country.

Could anything accentuate the infatuation of these men in their attempt to equip from the old world a republican fortress for the protection and propagation of slavery in the new, it had to be sought in this effort to enlist the Pope and his church in their support. It is not so very surprising that neither Davis nor Benjamin nor any of their agents abroad was aware of the hostile attitude which the Church of Rome had always occupied towards chattel slavery, and that wherever it has prevailed in Catholic countries it has prevailed by permission or encouragement from the civil, not from the ecclesiastical, power. The studies of these statesmen may be presumed not to have ranged very widely in the domain of Ecclesiastical history. But how a bishop could have indulged the expectation for one moment, if Bishop Lynch did indulge it, that Pius IX., with a half dozen bulls of his predecessors, against holding our fellow-creature in bondage, staring him in the face, could have taken the first step towards countenancing this pro-slavery crusade in the United States, is quite incomprehensible. It is not unlikely that he was prepared

to welcome any pretext for quitting a land where bishops, unless they were able-bodied and good marksmen, were not then of much use. If so, to one of his profession and rank, there was no pretext more available, it is to be presumed, than a mission to Rome, and it may have accomplished his objects, though it failed to prolong the life of the Confederacy or to add any lustre to the names of those who projected it. It was destined that they should learn through tribulation and shame that slavery, if it ever had been, was no longer king anywhere ; that the time was past when it was possible to introduce a new slave State into the family of nations or for men of their ilk separately or together "to create a nation."

JOHN BIGELOW.